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GENDER, REMITTANCES AND MIGRATION: LATIN AMERICANS AND CARIBBEANS IN EUROPE *

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SUMMARY

Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) migrations to Europe have grown rapidly and in the past few years partially replaced those to North America. Spain is the preferred destination of LAC migrants with about 840,000 LAC-born residents in 2001, a large increase over previous years. This migration is highly feminised and is likely to result in long-term settlement. It is also generating high levels of remittances. Whilst considerable work exists on the effect of remittances on households and communities in countries of origin, a gendered approach to these issues has only recently been developed. Yet, given that a high proportion of remittances in Europe are sent by and back to women, remittances are effectively circulating through transnational gendered networks. This paper examines remittances in the context of gendered migration from LAC countries to Europe and argues that policies concerning remittances need to incorporate a gender dimension. In particular we need to challenge the unproductive dichotomy between 'productive' and 'unproductive' activities, and recognise the significance of remittances for social reproduction, if we want to bank the unbanked. We also need to consider the effect of remittances on the lives of migrants in countries of destination.

Introduction

International migration has grown substantially as more and more countries have in the past 20 years been incorporated into a global migration system. This has resulted in greater interdependence, differentiation and stratification in an unequal world such that the developed countries have, on the one hand, attracted more Third World migrants whilst, on the other hand, implemented more restrictive immigration policies.

Though many authors continue to neglect gender aspects and fail to provide gendered statistics, there is nonetheless an abundant theoretical and regional literature on gendered international migrations, especially for Europe, North America and Asia. And in the context of an overall and steady increase of immigration to Europe (26.3 million in 1990 to 32.8 million in 2000), independent migration of women from Asia and Latin America has increased considerably since the 1990s both at the low end of the service sector as well as for more skilled and professional employment.

Inevitably these patterns and differences in gendered migrations will have an effect on the

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nature of remittances and the nexus between migratory and development processes. Yet despite the increasing volume of remittances, which are second after foreign direct investment and more than development aid, gendered analyses of remittances have received little attention. As we know women massively send back remittances and constitute about two-thirds of the recipients in Latin America. Hence remittances are circulating within gendered networks.

It is not my intention in this paper to undertake a comprehensive review of gendered migrations, which has been amply covered by books (Andall 2003; Anthias and Laziridis 2000; Hodagneu-Sotelo 2003; Kofman et al. 2000) and reports (Boyd and Pikhov 2005; Carling 2005; Jolly with Reeves 2005; Kofman 2005; Piper 2005). Rather, I shall firstly outline some recent trends in gendered migrations from Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) to Europe, to which there has been a partial shift from North America as a destination region. Spain is the preferred destination of LAC countries with about 840,000 LAC-born residents in 2001, a large increase over previous years (SOPEMI 2005: 55). It is distinguished by its high female component and thus different to many male flows from the same countries to the US. The UK (includes those from the Caribbean) comes second as a preferred destination followed by Italy. Similarly, in the second part, I shall not rehearse the general discussions on remittances but focus on the attempts to incorporate a gendered approach and a feminist perspective, both in relation to countries of origin and of destination. I also examine how recent developments in gendered migrations and settlement may affect the relationship between countries of origin and destination and the transnational links they forge through remittances of different kinds. I argue that policies concerning remittances need to incorporate a gender dimension and that in particular we need to challenge the unproductive dichotomy between 'productive' and 'unproductive' activities if we want to bank the unbanked.

Gendered Migrations in Europe

Whilst many migrant streams have for a long time had a substantial female component, it is only in the past two decades or so that labour migration has become strongly feminised. Thus in Europe, North America and Latin America, there was already a slight female majority in 1990 (Zlotnik 2003). In relation to intra-European and colonial flows there were also substantial female migrants moving as labour and family migrants from the 1950s to the 1970s, for example, Caribbean, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Yugoslav (Kofman et al. 2000).

Of course women's presence varies enormously between different migratory flows. Traditionally, they dominate family migration which remains in many European states, and especially in France and Sweden, the main source of long-term migration. It is also growing in newer countries of immigration in Southern Europe where women as lead migrants are bringing over spouses. Increasing numbers of women are also to be found amongst students, some of whom stay to work and marry. UK is the most popular destination and many come to study English.

However, in Europe as a whole the largest source of long-term migration remains family migration. Many female migrants who enter as dependants do work, even if not initially in the formal economy (Kofman 2004) and therefore send back remittances. Unfortunately there is still a tendency (Ramirez et al. 2005) to confine the contribution of female family migrants to the private sphere of reproductive activities.

Amongst asylum seekers, on the other hand, they constitute a small, but growing minority. In the UK, for example there was an increase from 26% in 2002 to 31% in 2003 of females principal applicants (Home Office 2004). Amongst Latin Americans, Colombians form the largest group of applicants in the UK followed by Ecuadorians, whilst in Spain the two largest

groups are Colombians and Cubans.

Nonetheless, it has been the expansion of female-dominated service sectors in the past decade or so that has generated opportunities for female migrants and created the notion of the feminisation of migration. Latin Americans, particularly from Argentina, Brazil and Chile had in the 1960s and 1970s been migrating in small numbers as students, intellectuals, artists and professionals. Political conflicts generated refugee flows during these decades with Norway and Sweden in particular taking in a large number of Chilean refugees in the 1970s.

Nevertheless it has only been in the past 10 to 15 years that LAC migration has in part been redirected away from the US and towards Europe, especially for female migrants. The second wave emanated from Central America and the Andean countries. 86% of female migrants in Spain in 2004 and 74% in Italy have arrived within the past ten years (Oso and Garson 2005). Flows from the Andean countries, Brazil and Central America tend to be particularly heavily feminised (table 3), though with continuing family reunification and strong demand for employment in male-dominated sectors, there has been a noticeable masculinisation of many LAC nationalities.. In Italy some of these flows are even more strongly feminised with an average of 70.6% from LAC countries in 2000 (Pellegrino 2004: 35).

The events of 11 September 2001 resulted in stricter monitoring of visas and immigration regulations in the US whilst financial crises in Argentina in 2002 and Ecuador at the end of the 1990s and the prevailing political violence in Colombia fuelled the numbers seeking to emigrate. In general, migrant flows have become diversified in terms of nationality and class with data suggesting that migrants often come from lower middle and middle classes, and sometimes from youth elites (Peixoto 2005). Many have lived for a time in the country of destination with an undocumented status.

The number of Latin American citizens holding residence permits in Spain amply demonstrates the growing attraction of the country (see table 2). Yet the statistics on those holding residence permits undoubtedly underestimates migrants from LAC countries. Firstly amongst some nationalities the proportion of undocumented is very high. A study of Colombians in Spain in 2003 estimated that at the time up to two-thirds could be present irregularly (Pellegrino 2004: 57). Domestic labour and sex work in particular lend themselves to invisibility. LAC countries constitute one of the major suppliers of sex workers in Europe such that it is estimated there may be up to 60,000 Dominican and 70,000 Brazilian women working in the sex industry. In Spain police estimate that about half of the foreign prostitutes working in the country in 2000 were from these countries (Pellegrino 2004: 58). At the same time, frequent regularisation programmes in Italy, Portugal and Spain are making large numbers of LAC nationals legal residents.

Secondly, marriage with an EU national enables a LAC citizen to acquire citizenship of an EU country more rapidly. We would need to examine statistics on inter-marriage to gain an idea of how extensive this practice of dual-nationality families has become. Qualitative and anecdotal evidence do suggest relationships *por amor* and *por residencia* (Sorensen 2005a) are quite common. Although the numbers entering in order to marry are low (table 5 for the UK), many others will meet a partner in the country and subsequently get married.

Thirdly, many Latin Americans are able to invoke their ancestral connections and claim a European Union citizenship which entitles them to work and residence. This is highest amongst Argentinians, Brazilians, Cubans, Mexicans and Venezuelans. These 'return migrants' are invisible in the statistics but may be significant as in Italy where those from Argentina formed the largest group. An earlier study in the 1990s of 'return migrants' in the Friuli region (Grossutti 1997 cited in Pellegrino 2004) showed that these migrants belonged to the middle classes who

were particularly hard hit by economic crises. Spain amended its naturalisation laws in 2000 to allow second generation descendants of Spanish nationals easier access to Spanish nationality. Furthermore, migrants from Latin America and the Philippines only require two years of legal residence to acquire citizenship unlike 10 years for other non-EU migrants (Escrivà 2005). Hence in contrast to other countries such as the UK, which have reduced access to citizenship from their former colonies, and especially from non-White ones, Spain has made itself much more attractive for Latin Americans to settle.

The claiming of an EU citizenship probably generates further migrations in Europe, as in the UK where anecdotal evidence would suggest that a number of those from Brazil have acquired Portuguese passports. Thus the numbers enumerated in the census are likely to be far below the real numbers¹.

Gendered Employment

In general, women are being massively deskilled but their attitudes and experiences vary considerably depending on their status in the country of origin (Herrera 2005). Some did not previously work, others worked as domestics, while others were teachers, lawyers, accountants etc. Even for those who worked previously, work becomes more significant in their lives. European countries differ in the extent of informal employment and sectors open to non-EU citizens.

The UK is interesting because of the range of employment available to migrants, including skilled work in sectors of social reproduction (Kofman 2004; Kofman and Raghuram 2006). At the same time, there is relatively little employment as live-in-domestics and generally lower levels of work in the household². This is in contrast to Spain which has the most polarised pattern where it is clear that migrant women are filling the jobs that Spanish women do not wish to do, especially in relation to domestic labour and care. This pattern of employment for migrant women is linked to the nature of the welfare regime whose responsibility falls primarily on the family for care and social reproduction of children, disabled and the elderly (Kofman 2005). Spain, for example, can be classified as a family regime where there is a particularly low level of public subsidised care and privatisation of welfare delivery (Ribas-Mateos 2004).

The concept of global chains of care has in a very short time become influential in explaining the feminisation of migration through the internationalisation of care. Arlie Hochschild (2000: 131) defined them “as a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring”. She locates these interdependencies at a household level and based on the transfer of physical and emotional labour. The chains may vary in their number and connective strength. For example, the emigration of a woman to care for a child or an elderly person in a wealthier country may generate another link in the chain bringing in someone from a poorer area to look after her own children and parents or it may entail another member of her own family, such as a sister, being remunerated to do the caring. These networks embody social divisions of class, income, status, ethnicity and ‘race’ in which wealthier households in richer countries outsource their care deficits and requirements to poorer households, whilst creating ‘care-drained’ transnational family forms (Sorensen 2005a).

Saskia Sassen (2000) adopts a broader analysis showing how the working out of the forces and processes of economic globalisation (structural adjustment programmes, opening up to foreign capital and removal of state subsidies) are systemically linked to the growing significance of female migration in the pursuit of alternative survival strategies. The latter involve the export of female migrants as labour migrants: sex workers, entertainers, marriage partners and industrial cleaners working in offices where “the real work” of globalisation occurs. Her work highlights

the ways in which women are incorporated into this global economy and attempts to outline the circuits connecting labour demand and supply. Women play their part in ensuring the survival of households, and even national economies. Such alternative global circuits provide the means of making a living and a profit, and securing government revenue through remittances.

Who and what then are left out of these explanations of recent developments in gendered migrations? The dominant trope of Hoschscild's analysis is migrant mothers moving to care for the children and elderly of the First World³. The problem is that this framework places the onus on the household as the unit of analysis and shrinks the diverse strategies pursued by its female members. In this analysis the dominant concern of female migrants is to provide for the survival of their children or parents; little thought is given to those who aspire to other opportunities. Single women may migrate to study or get to know another culture, yet at the same time send back remittances to ensure the well-being of their families. Women may leave violent or unfulfilling relationships because movement away from home and the community may make the break easier.

Qualitative studies of LAC women, and especially those with some cultural and social capital, reveal the variety and complexity of personal projects (Gruner-Dominic 2000; Sorensen 2005). Interviews in London also demonstrate the range of personal projects and marital statuses in a city which allows migrants to study and work part-time⁴.

Thus transnational family forms and social fields are far more intricate and dynamic than suggested by the concept of global chains of care that together with the household analysis of migration have rapidly developed into the new orthodoxy. The household in particular underpins the migratory framework upon which our understanding of remittances is constructed.

Rethinking Remittances and Gender Approaches

The role of remittances in development has received considerable attention from states, international organisations and academics in the past few years and become the focus of high level conferences (World Bank 2005). For the first time in 2003 the Global Development Finance Annual Report formally recognised remittances as a source of development finance (Levitt and Sorensen 2004) This is unsurprising since monetary remittances sent through formal channels now represent the second largest volume of monetary flows to developing countries, less than foreign direct investment but more than development aid. The Report estimated that migrants sent back US\$ 72.3 billion in 2001; the volume of remittances has continued to grow and by 2004 was estimated to have reached \$126 billion (World Bank 2005), with Latin America and the Caribbean being the fastest growing receiving region in the world where remittances now exceed the combined flows of FDI and ODA (Inter-American Development Bank 2004). Mexico and Central America receive about 55% of the total for the region, 31% in South America and 14% in the Caribbean.

Of the \$38 billion sent to LAC countries in 2003, \$30 billion emanated from the US, and \$2 billion from Europe with half originating from Spain. In 2004, 1804 million euros or 52.6% of all remittances from Spain were sent to Latin America (de Taillac 2006). Although lower middle income countries such as Mexico, India and Philippines receive the largest volume, it is most significant for poor countries. such as Nicaragua, Haiti, El Salvador, Guyana and Jamaica where remittances account for as much as a quarter of Gross Domestic Product. Informal transfers are likely to double the amount remitted.

Much of the literature conceptualises remittances as financial flows but as Ramirez et al. (2005) suggest 'remittances are more than just periodic financial transfers; they are the result of complex processes of negotiation within households that are immersed in an intricate network

between the Diaspora and the countries of origin'. We should also recognise the problem that Durand (1994: 285) noted over a decade ago that "the problem is that opinions about remittances are made as if these were and meant the same thing in different places and over time"

Much official debate has been concerned with how we might reduce costs of transferring remittances and provide incentives for shifting remittances from supporting recurrent everyday expenses to more productive activities. Yet others have argued that we need to disaggregate remittances to better understand how different types contribute to different aspects of development and their gendered characteristics (Sorensen 2005).

Goldring (2004) has proposed a distinction between family, collective and investment or entrepreneurial remittances, and considering the social, political and institutional mechanisms through which they are channelled. Her typology includes the constellation of remitters, receivers, and mediating institutions; the norms and logic(s) that regulate remittances; the uses of remittances (income versus savings); the social and political meanings of remittances; and the implications of such meanings for various interventions. In relation to collective remittances, she notes the expansion of migrant organisations such as clubs and hometown associations which seek to lever out money with governmental institutions and carry out projects. The proliferation of institutions seeking to direct remittances away from the family and recurrent expenditure fits into a development discourse that privileges private-public partnerships and markets over state funding (Goldring 2004: 804). Investment or entrepreneurial remittances are those which seek to obtain a profit within a market logic. She comments that the latter has been quite limited in producing sustainable businesses and employment and that we need to recognise the economic, social and political specificity of each kind of remittance.

Collective or community remittances operate within a philanthropic, non-profit-making logic and are of interest because their effects are felt beyond the family and kin networks. Many sending and receiving states have begun to engage in outreach work. Southern European states have recently pursued policies to develop diasporic networks, for example, as in Spain which is encouraging the formation of an Iberoamerican community (Cornelius 2004) and Portugal a Portuguese-speaking diaspora with the formation of the Community of Lusophone Countries in 1996 (Feldman-Bianco 2001). Apart from high level summits, these relationships are cemented through granting of citizenship for those with ancestors in the country and facilitated for all LAC nationals, a much prized commodity that gives rights of residence and work in the EU. Bilateral labour agreements have also been signed with Ecuador, Dominican Republic and Colombia and between Portugal and Brazil. Thus policy initiatives have favoured migrants from LAC countries and may potentially make social mobility and integration easier. Inevitably the possibility of long-term residence and the ability to bring in family members will influence how much and what kind of remittances are sent over a longer time period.

However collective remittances are often channelled through hometown associations whose leading positions are usually occupied by men (Goldring 2001). It is likely that the flourishing of diasporic and outreach policies noted above has less to offer women and may exclude those in certain kinds of employment, such as domestic and sex work (Sorensen 2005).

Levitt (2005) too has contributed to deepening our understanding of how different kinds of remittances operate within a socio-political context. She defines social remittances as the "ideas, practices, identities and social capital that migrants remit home and which permeate the daily lives of those who remain behind, altering their behaviour, and transforming notions about gender relations, democracy and what states should and should not do". They can be divided into three types –normative structures, systems of practice and social capital. Such remittances may change gender dynamics, such as who is considered to be a suitable marriage partner and what household

relations ought to prevail or the willingness and ability of women to set up their own businesses and play a part in community life both in the sending and destination country. This ties in with interest in the management of remittances. In a study of remittance outcomes in rural Oaxaca, Mexico (Cohen and Rodriguez 2005), where most emigrants were men, many of the commercial investment projects involved women setting up or running the businesses generated by remittances eg. tiendas, making and selling of tortillas, day-care centre for children.

More fundamentally, as Pessar (2005) notes forcefully, the recent interest in remittances are 'both promising and troubling'. It is troubling because of the dichotomy between productive and 'unproductive' which is accepted and indeed espoused by most policy makers, and not adequately challenged by recent attempts to develop a more gender-based approach to remittances (Ramirez et al. 2005). Thus family remittances are largely equated with the household, and therefore domestic and 'unproductive' activities. Consumption too easily slides into frivolous consumerism. Yet if we breakdown recurrent expenditure in the household, we would see that some of it includes items such as education, health and well-being of family members which are in effect social expenditure. This is about social reproduction of people and generations such that remittances fill in for social expenditure and replace the skinny reproductive role of the state (Herrera 2005). We know that these expenditures are gendered. Girls education, for example, tends to be more influenced by income than boys (INSTRAW 2005).

Little, however, is known about gender differences in the sending and receiving of remittances (INSTRAW; Sorensen 2005). Remittances are sent by women back to women. In Latin America, American data suggests that about two-thirds of remittances are sent back to women. The belief that women remit more than men may not be the case and has been questioned in a study of the Philippines (Semyonov and Gorodziesky 2005) which found that this depended on income, age and marital status. Married men, as opposed to younger, single men, tended to send back more than women because their earnings were higher. Women (married) earn less and therefore remit less. This does not mean that the amount of remittances for other nationalities depends primarily on the amount earned. There are few studies of this kind in other countries. Difference between nationalities and urban versus rural locations are considerable. A comparison of remittance sending in Spain demonstrates significant differences in employment, household size, and educational levels between Colombians, Ecuadorians and Dominicans. The latter were often from poor rural backgrounds and had much lower levels of educational attainment than the first two (Pellegriño 2004: 48).

Remittances are likely to change the gender and generational relationships in households. It may give women more authority to make demands in the household and to participate in economic and community life, as has been reported for Ecuador (Pribilsky 2004). However the impact of remittances may be more ambiguous and mixed as in the Dominican Republic, and especially where younger women in subordinate positions migrate from patriarchal household (Sorensen 2004). In other cases women as lead migrants will be those who bring in men through family reunification.

Studying remittances from a gender and transnational perspective allows us to see how different processes co-exist in countries of origin and destination and through social networks (INSTRAW 2005; Ramirez et al. 2005).

Sorensen (2004) has listed a series of elements of a gendered analysis

- * Legal status of the migrant
- * Marital Status

- * Household income level
- * Level of employment and occupational status in the countries of origin and destination
- * Length of stay abroad
- * Labour markets available to migrants
- * Cost of living in the destination country
- * Number of dependants in the household in the country of origin and family relationships
- * Household members working abroad
- * Wage rates
- * Economic activity in the countries of origin and destination
- * Facilities for money transfer
- * Exchange rates between the country of origin and the destination country

Amongst the issues listed above, more attention has been devoted to the effect of remittances on households and communities in countries of origin. It is only recently that attention has begun to turn to countries of destination. Questions are being asked about how remittances affect the lives of migrants in the countries of destination. To what extent do they forego expenditure which may improve their welfare and enable them to participate in the cultural, social and political life of the countries in which they now live (Marcelli and Lowell 2005). In a review of several US studies, it was found that older, more educated males with higher income were more likely to remit and long-term residence tended to reduce remitting. There is evidence that the acquisition of housing and the education of children are likely to reduce remittances. It is also often said that women are more likely to wish to settle and not return to their home countries.

There are, however, as yet few solid studies of what determines the amount and forms of remittances in the country of destination. In the small-scale London study conducted by Kofman and Marrinan, LAC migrants generated a highly varied pattern of remittances, ranging from none, gifts for special occasions, twice a year to regular monthly. Amongst those who have lived in London for at least 5 years, one still sent regularly but the others only sent once or twice a year or occasionally. One had stopped sending altogether once her mother died. Separated families often produce the highest level of remittances (Nyangoma 2005)⁵ but in the study mentioned above no one had children left behind. The two single mothers had brought their children with them. In a study of Colombians in London⁶ it was the undocumented who sent back the largest remittances, some of them sending back virtually all that they earned and leaving themselves with no more than bare subsistence (McIlwaine 2005).

Thus we need to link the experiences of those migrating and remitting, the circulation of their remittances as well as the impact of the remittances on those left behind. Levitt and Sorensen (2005) suggest a framework of a transnational social field defined as “a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are exchanged, organised and transformed”. These social fields may display different forms, breadth and depth over space and time. At present we know little of the evolution of migrant experiences over time, how this impacts on remittances and how their social fields evolve. To answer some of these questions we would need to adopt a life cycle and longitudinal approach (Black et al. 2003; King et al. 2004).

Although a transnational perspective yields insights on the linkages between countries of origin and destination, we should not neglect the significance of the state through its immigration, regularisation, employment and integration policies which impact on the conditions of migrants’ residence and working conditions. Many European countries, including Spain, have imposed

visas on Latin American migrants. Yet at the same time, Southern European countries have had a series of regularisation programmes which have enabled non-EU undocumented migrants to gain a legal status, though sometimes only temporarily. Thus in Italy large numbers of Ecuadorians benefited from regularisation in 2002 and Ecuadorians and Colombians were the two largest groups in Spain in 2001 and Brazilians second in Portugal in 2001 to gain legal residence. Portugal instituted a special regularisation drive for Brazilians in 2003. As we have seen, Portugal and Spain are cultivating their diasporas and concluding bilateral migration agreements with selected countries.

Policies

The gender dimension must be included in the design of policies and programmes aimed at maximising the development potential of migratory movements. Any measure or policy aimed at harnessing the development potential of remittances must be informed by a rigorous analysis of the gender relationships and dynamics characteristic of each particular context (Ramirez et al. 2005). Gender divisions should be taken into account in the use made of remittances within households.

For Carling (2004) Goldring (2004) policy and programme interventions need to recognize the diversity and specificity of each remittance type. Existing initiatives to bank the unbanked and reduce transfer costs, for example, are effective for family remittances, but attempts to expand the share of remittances allocated to savings, or to turn community donations into profitable ventures, or small investments into large businesses, are much more complex and require a range of other interventions.

Whilst we need to take account of the social and political dimensions of remittances and analyse their potential as catalysts for the transformation of social relations and gender dynamics within the family and community of both senders and receivers of migration (INSTRAW 2005:13), we also need to think more carefully about notion of ‘unproductive’ activities. Remittances too have contrasting objectives in their temporal and social distribution between immediate and future benefits as well as secondary beneficiaries (Carling 2004:4).

It would be far more productive to consider ways in which family remittances can be linked with collective and community remittances which benefit everyone within a community. What effect does expenditure on education and health within family remittances have on such spending in the community? In addition, the drive to shift remittances towards entrepreneurial activities assumes the non-productivity of household remittances. Involve civil society in the countries of origin in the design, implementation and evaluation of sustainable development projects co-financed through remittances and ensure that women are fully involved. We need also to support the work of migrant associations that are forming bridges between diasporas and their communities of origin in order to carry out mutually beneficial projects and to ensure that women’s needs are not made invisible in projects financed by remittances.

What are the costs of sending remittances and of forgoing welfare for migrants in the country of destination in order to send back remittances? For those who settle, and there is evidence that women tend to prefer this option, this may not just be a matter of their own future but also their children’s.

On a macro level what are the implications of a society which becomes a human export state, as has been the case of the Philippines. What does this mean both for those left behind and those migrating? These issues too need to be considered in remittance policies.

Conclusion

Large-scale Latin American migration to Europe is recent. It is highly feminised as well as diversified in terms of, class, status, ethnicity and 'race'. As the flows have matured they have become masculinised with women bringing in spouses and other relatives. Whilst disproportionately employed in a restricted number of feminised service sectors in Southern Europe, there are indications of social mobility. Female migrants are also present in a broad range of employment sectors elsewhere in Europe and have also entered as marriage partners.

Though many women migrants may have experienced a period of living undocumented, the frequent regularisation programmes in Southern Europe and the privileged access to citizenship that has accompanied recent diasporic engagement by Portugal and Spain are likely to facilitate long-term settlement. In terms of remittances, we do not know what the effect of large settled communities might be on the amount sent and the forms it takes. To what extent, for example might they be channelled over time through migrant associations involved in community and collective projects?

However within the ever changing transnational social fields, we know little of the effect of remittances on the lives of women and men in the countries of destination. In order to do this, it is necessary to develop a more comprehensive picture of gendered migrations, the trajectory of individual migrants, the ways in which they experience downward social mobility, the evolving forms of transnationalism and their integration into the destination country. For some, especially those living in separated families, the amount of remittances they send may limit what they can do in the new society. For many others, settlement signals more infrequent sending of remittances as gifts rather than regular transfers.

Tables

Table 1. Legal Foreigners by Nationality in Spain, Portugal and Italy

South America	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Total
Argentina	119357	575	7679	127611
Bolivia	47558	51	1179	48788
Brazil	33867	28956	19003	81826
Chile	25685	244	3302	29231
Colombia	225312	453	9170	234935
Ecuador	433110	221	10342	443673
Peru	62207	253	32706	96166
Uruguay	28625	103	1219	29947
Venezuela	35041	3470	3497	42008
Other	5245	59	446	5750
Central Am				
Mexico	16422	265	2797	19484
Other	11709	99	5524	17332
Caribbean				
Cuba	35781	445	7047	43273
Dom Repub	43405	63	11114	54582
Other	965	40	1059	2064
Other Amer	39			39
TOTAL	1124328	35297	116084	1275709

Source: Council of Europe 2004, Peixoto (2005)

Table 2. Latin American Citizens in Spain Holding Residence Permits

Citizenship	1997	1999	2001	2003
Ecuador	4112	12933	84699	174289
Colombia	8412	13627	48710	107459
Peru	21233	27263	33758	57593
Argentina	17188	16290	20412	63347
Dominican R.	20381	26854	29314	36654
Cuba	10507	16556	21467	27323
Brazil	3263	8120	10910	14598
Venezuela	6188	7323	9067	13162
Chile	5594	5927	6900	10869

Source: Ministry of the Interior Spain 2003

Table 3. Foreigners in Spain from Latin America by Citizenship and Sex 2001

Country	Total no.	No. Women	%Women
South America	535788	292778	54.6
Argentina	47656	24010	50.4
Bolivia	11311	6227	55.1
Brazil	18305	12730	69.5
Chile	14126	7354	52.1
Colombia	160096	92776	58.0
Cuba	25788	14600	56.6
Ecuador	216465	110576	51.1
Mexico	8892	5325	59.9
Peru	38532	22849	59.3
Dominican R.	31579	21734	68.8
Uruguay	9745	4936	50.7
Venezuela	18370	10574	57.6

Source: National Institute of Statistics Spain Population Census 2001

Table 4. Latin American and Caribbean Migrants in the Labour Force in Spain 2002 (000s)

Nationality	Total	Women
Ecuador	125.7	58.0
Colombia	60.5	32.9
Peru	27.4	14.9
Argentina	16.9	6.2
Dominican Republic	14.6	10.4
Cuba	12.9	5.9
Brazil	6.1	4.0
Chile	4.6	1.8
EU	178.2	67.7
TOTAL	831.7	300.5

Source: SOPEMI (2005)

Table 5. Visits and Immigration Flows. 2003**(1) Given Leave to Enter**

Country	Students	Employment	Husband/ Fiancé	Wife Fiancée	Total
Argentina	870	610	15	60	38900
Barbados	195	75	30	15	12000
Brazil	8840	705	40	215	127000
Chile	810	100	10	30	22200
Colombia	2590	180	40	105	31900
Guyana	100	90	20	35	5590
Jamaica	425	535	160	105	25600
Mexico	4550	205	20	70	107000
Peru	435	60	15	65	9640
Trinidad T	395	230	30	40	29200
Venezuela	1800	100	10	50	21700

(2) Grants of Settlement

	Employment	Husband	Wife	Refugees	Total
Argentina	160	25	95		160
Barbados	15	70	20		160
Brazil	20	95	380	5	755
Chile	125	20	50		125
Colombia	20	100	265	140	1045
Guyana	10	35	70	5	280
Jamaica	105	1185	765	5	4500
Mexico	25	45	125		250
Peru	15	25	75	10	190
Trinidad T	170	115	100		670
Venezuela	5	25	70		135

Source: Home Office Control of Immigration UK 2003, 2004

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Notes

¹ In 2002/3, there were only 3 South American nationalities which had more than 500 people being allocated a national insurance number: Brazilians 2,400 of whom 1,300 were women, Colombians 800 with 500 women and Argentinians 500 including 300 women. Jamaica 4,600 with 2,900 women and Trinidad and Tobago 600 with 400 women.

² In the UK in 2004 0.6% of British women were employed in household services compared to 3.1% of foreign women. Higher percentages of migrant women were employed in health and social services (25% of migrant compared to 20% of British women). In Spain, on the other hand, 4.6% of Spanish women were employed in this sector compared to 36% of migrant women. So too, were migrant women employed to a greater extent in hotels and restaurants (19% of migrant women compared to 7.5% of Spanish women).

³ Hochschild's theoretical analysis is largely based on Rhacel Parrenas's empirical data of Filipina domestic workers where a good number seem to be single mothers. It is also estimated that 30% of Filipina children live in households where at least one parent is abroad.

⁴ Shanna Marrinan, a PhD student at Middlesex University, conducted a small-scale study of 11 migrants for this paper. They included 8 females and 3 males with 4 from Brazil, 4 from Colombia and one each from Chile, Peru and Venezuela. They included several single women, two who came with their husbands, two who had married British men. Four had been in London for under 1 year whilst two had lived here for 15-16 years.

⁵ In this study of Ugandan migrants in London (Nyangoma 2005), all nine respondents sent back remittances and for some this meant foregoing their own welfare. Though remitting from a sense of obligation, several expressed resentment about the financial uncertainty this engendered

⁶ Most of the thirty migrants interviewed had arrived in the past years with the majority from urban areas. They were generally well educated but had experienced considerable downward social mobility with everyone working or having worked in the cleaning sector. 20 out of the 30 were documented.

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